1: Gifford

OU9 Tonga OU9

855
858
882

[For information on the special status and treatment of the chief's son and daughter in Tongan society, see Categories 622 and 554 (Category 116, pp. 128-130).]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9



a chief to forgive, even if the offender was a commoner; other chiefs would laugh at him if he did not. But perchance the seducer were not forgiven he would be killed at the first opportunity.

Regarding theft, the opinion of all early voyagers is expressed by Wilson (66, p. 385): "In their propensity to theft they [the Polynesians in general] too much resembled each other, though the Friendly Islanders seemed the most daring." Unfortunately we know nothing of the extent of thievery among the Tongans themselves, but presumably it was rare.

## LIFE CRISES

### BIRTH

When the time is nearly arrived for the delivery of a child, a messenger (usually the husband) is sent off for the midwife and should the first person the messenger meet be of the female sex, it is said that the child will be a girl, and vice versa. (Note from W. H. Murley.)

For the first ten days after childbirth the mother's diet was exclusively yams and hot coconut milk (*veifua*). At childbirth both mother and child were painted with turmeric (*enga*) and oil immediately. Collocott says (10, p. 418) that the mother must not leave the house or bathe for five days. Each day for two or three months the mother and child were given a sponge bath and repainted with turmeric, said to keep the mother and child warm and to induce the mother to produce milk quickly and plentifully. The use of turmeric is today yielding to fuller's earth. The following tale refers to the use of turmeric:

> Mahina was a hero who lived at Vaipoa in Vavau. Mahina had a god who guarded the water (a little bit of the sea) where Mahina bathed. A woman who had recently borne a child, and was therefore painted with turmeric, bathed in this water. The god disliked the smell of the turmeric in the water and shifted his quarters. He gulped the water up into his mouth and set off. Near Makave, Vavau, he met another god who made him laugh, and he spilt some of the water, which gave rise to the water called Finekata. Nearby he spilt some more out of his mouth which gave rise to the water called Veengangana (literally, spilt water). He went on to Tongatabu and established himself on the weather shore near Vaotuu, but another turmeric-painted matron disturbed him by bathing in his water, and so he packed up again and finally discharged the water at Tufumahina, Tongatabu.

That perhaps the newborn child was regarded as of supernatural origin is suggested by the word *louuluotua* (hair of the god), applied to the hair on the head of a child when born.

The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9



were a stranger to him, only by the way she wore her hair. If she were not a married woman, but one who was no longer a virgin, there would be no means of distinguishing her from a married woman by her appearance; only a personal knowledge of the facts would give the man a right to speak to her as an unmarried girl. 521 834 302

A girl, when going out into unfrequented places, providing she should be a virgin, took a child along as a chaperon. This child, of either sex, might be a brother or sister or a neighbor's child. The protection was based upon the fear of scandal, as the child could not be expected to keep a secret. 834 857 [858]

Among the chiefly people a virgin was called *taahine*, or more specifically, *taupoou*. Among common people a virgin was called *finemui*. A chiefly girl, when she ceased to be a virgin, was still called *taahine* but not *taupoou*. The daughter of a high matapule might also be called a *taupoou* and also bore the name *taahine*. The term *taupoou* was not applied to only the oldest virgin in a family, but to any and all virgins in the family. A commoner girl no longer a virgin was called *finemotua*. 836 565

If a young man refrained from cohabiting with women previous to his marriage, he was not highly desirable among the unmarried girls. But if a young man was reputed to have a wide sexual experience previous to marriage, regardless of his physical attractions or lack of them, he was held in high estimation by old and young and was especially admired by young unmarried women. Girls were warned to keep away from him, intimately, but taught to admire him. Such a man was said to be wise and was expected to treat his bride with more consideration during the first nights of married life. 836 58 554

## Marriage Ceremonies

The marriage ceremony is to-day called *katoanga mali* (*katoanga*, festival; *mali*, English "marry"). 585

The ceremony was divided into two parts: the first taking place before and immediately after cohabitation; the second, when the first born child was sufficiently strong to be moved, if necessary, from one village to another (generally when it was about two months old).

This second part of the ceremony was always held at the home of the man's father, who designated the time. The child remained at the house of his mother's people during the entire performance, taking no part in it whatsoever. In this respect the affair seems to be complimentary to the parents rather than strictly in honor of the child itself.

The following is a description of the first ceremony, the marriage proper:

Preceding the festival, a large representation of relatives of both the bridegroom and the bride assembled at the village or community where the bridegroom's father resided. The young man took up his temporary residence with his father, if not already

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9



known that the father was a noble; the child might rank as a mooa, but not higher: on the contrary, if a woman who is a noble were to have a child by a tooa, the child would be a noble; but this perhaps seldom happens, for the pride of the females would not allow of such a low intrigue; or if such a circumstance were to take place, the greatest care would be used that it should not be known. Children that are nobles are somewhat less respected, as may be supposed, on account of their childhood; but then any familiarity or slight disrespect that might be shewn them would only be by nobles nearly equal or superior to them. If Finow were to see a child of superior rank approach or be brought near him, he perhaps would say, (and frequently does on such occasions,) take that child away! why do you bring him here, troubling me with the taboo? or some such abrupt expression: such language, however, would not be decorous from an inferior, unless he be of nearly equal rank, and then only by authority of his superior age.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9



6. The border or edge of anything is *kapa*, and I presume that *tau kapakapa* is the reduplicated form of that word, indicating the edge of the house. [539]

7. The inference is that Tongamauluau is exerting malign influence over Kulakehahau, and it is probably implied that she is not truly human. The narrator just here refers to Anumatenifa as *tevolo*, but whether it is meant that she herself is not really human, or merely that she is behaving with inhuman malignity is not clear. [192]

8. I do not know the meaning of the expression, *he funga va*, but conjecture that although Kulakehahau and Anumatenifa dwelt in the one house it was in a condition of separateness from each other.

9. By the expression "kin of my father," Kulakehahau indicates that Anumatenifa could not be his wife. [602]

10. The variant which follows mentions that Tongamauluau went with only bark cloth wrapped round her.

11. An additional wife, or wives, brought to a man by his wife are termed *fokonofo*. A woman apparently frequently brought her own younger sisters, or other relatives, as *fokonofo*. Perhaps Tongamauluau means that when Kulakehahau deserted her to live with another woman it was because of a new love, not a new wife that she herself had provided, but just an unreasonable whim. [595]

12. The pining of children for absent friends and relatives is called *manatu* (remember). This is regarded very seriously by the Tongans. [858] [828]

## Pages 41-43. Tongamauluau and Kulakehahau, a variant

1. Aofitoki and Aouli are said to be the names of two kinds of cloud. [821]

2. The meaning of *aitio*, a rare word in present-day Tongan, is difficult to discover, but apparently it is the shout of jubilation as a chief leads away his bride. [192]

3. Cloth with unprinted edges cut off is called *lotoingatu;* it is suitable for a chief's dress. [291]

4. The term *kuluhulu-tuu* indicates "not put on in the usual way of the kilt (vala), but worn so as to cover the bosom." [291]

## Pages 43-44. Tuiolemana and the crab

1. There is a mixture in these names of Tongan and Samoan forms. In Nukuseilala, *nuku* is a Tongan form, and *seilala* Samoan; *tui-o-le-mana* may be wholly Samoan. [197]

2. The word *mitimiti* is commonly used to mean suck, but Labillardière reports it as used in a context where it apparently means sexual intercourse. [192]

## Pages 44-46. Kalikihevae and the son of the Tui Tonga

1. It is possible to read the Tongan as though the disease had just developed as they reached Hihifo.

2. Tongan women frequently chew food to soften it for their children. [857]

3. The candlenut is a very popular detergent.

4. The inference is Nua had already borne a child, but so beautiful was she that this did not diminish her desirability. [515]

## Pages 46-49. Vaenuku and Lepuha

1. The word *mua* is translated (29) as *distributeur, qui parle pour le chef; Ko 'ene mu'a, c'est son*, second. I have found nowhere else any reference to the custom. The second day of the three days assigned to marriage festivities is marked as the bride's bathing day. This bathing must be a special one, as no Tongan, unless in exceptional circumstances, omits the daily bath. Presumably the maiden's leaving her compound to go to the bathing pool was held to present an opportunity for an interview or, perhaps, for beholding the lady's charms. [539] [585] [515]

2. Presumably the meaning is that the maiden and Vaenuku had met and she had accepted him as lover; that is, the bride is announcing to those concerned the successful suitor. [539]

## Pages 49-50. Fragments of a poem of Lepuha and Vaenuku

1. This name is also written Vainuku.

2. I am uncertain whether in the Tongan of this line the word is *si*, the plant

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9



539 245 412 829 therefore, indicates the coconut living with that which destroys it. Used of one who is in close contact with that which is his undoing. (Compare No. 243.)

539 245 858 **48. Potopoto a niu mui:** Wisdom of a young nut tree.

A young tree will sometimes bear a crop as though it were clever at that game, but will pass fruitless through another season. So children will at times behave with all the discretion of adults, but such conduct cannot be expected to be the permanent characteristic of the young.

539 245 **49. Tautefua a niu motuu:** A ripe nut hanging by itself.

There is only one nut on the stalk, but that one is perfect and ripe. A thing of which there are very few, and those few are of fine quality. A man who stands alone, but who is exceedingly capable.

539 184 **50. To lou oji:** Leaf fallen finished, that is, all the leaves fallen.

This is not a familiar form of expression in most parts of the Tongan group, in fact it is ungrammatical; it may have originated in Niua Foou where it seems that such a form is permissible. The phrase is not known, or at least not generally known in Tongatabu. Baker gives, "destitute"; poverty, or rather the poor, being represented as a tree denuded of leaves.

539 824 **51. Tupu lautolo:** Growing (like) *lautolo.*

The *lautolo* is a fast-growing, strong-creeping plant. To grow like this plant is to grow quickly and strongly.

539 244 578 **52. Tuutuu kau tala:** Stand about I'll tell.

Used for one who makes slighting or offensive remarks about another who, unknown to the speaker, is near by and listening. There is a plantain called the *tuutuu-kau-tala.* Both the name of the plan and the meaning of the expression are connected with the legendary hero Muni, who was cast away at sea at, or before, birth and washed ashore on the island of Lofanga in Haapai. He was found and adopted by a childless couple of Lofanga, but as he grew to manhood his adoptive parents became anxious to get rid of him. Returning home one evening Muni overheard from just outside the house his supposed parents talking about him inside the house. He leaned against a plantain, of the sort now called *tuutuu-kau-tala,* and heard what they had to say. There is a couplet referring to this incident:

| | |
|---|---|
| Hau ai o tuu kau talai | Come and stand while I abuse |
| Aeni ne ui ai he hopa ni. | You after whom was named this plantain. |

539 824 571 **53. Ulu akaua:** Overshadowed with trees.

A tree that is dwarfed, unable to reach its full stature and vigor, by reason of a crowd of other trees standing close about it. Used of a warrior who is overcome by the number of foes that press together upon him. Generally of one who, no matter how great his spirit and skill, is overwhelmed by the multitude of difficulties that confront him.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9



temporaries. A number of elderly people and even some children do not know their ages, but the proportion is probably less in this generation than in the last. The habit of counting years is becoming common. Government requirements of registration and the practice of entering the ages of children in school rolls lead naturally to this result.

The life of the individual is divided into a number of periods which give a rough indication of age. The child is first *huhu* (at the breast), then *maxac* (weaned). This latter word however does not give a very close approximation to a child's age as understood by a European, as many children continue to suck the breast, though eating other food, for two years or more. Other words in the stages of life are, *tateka* (crawling about), *totuu* (commencing to stand), *akoako haele* (learning to walk), *haele* (walking), *lele holo* (running about), *fangafanga* (hair cut short on the top but left at the sides)—a custom that has largely fallen into disuse.

From childhood on different words are used of men and women. A general word for boy is *tamajii*. As he grows up he is *talavou jii* (little, young, young man), *talavou* (young man), *tangata* (man)—a word of very wide application—*fatu tangata* (middle-aged man), *fatu tangata motua* (late middle-aged man), *vaivai* (old, literally weak), *veetolu* (three-legged, that is supporting himself on his staff), *auau* (going down, failing). So too a man may be described as *motua aupito* (very old), or *unu* (shedding skin).

Words descriptive of the growing girl and woman are *taahine* (general word for girl), *huhu tutuu* (breast forming), *finemui jii* (little, young, young woman), *fehine* (general word for woman), *fatu fehine* (middle-aged woman), and so on as for men with the necessary alterations of *tangata* (man) to *fehine* (woman).

A man is frequently called *motua* and a woman *finemotua*. These words properly indicate a man who has begotten and a woman who has borne children.

By the use of such words it is possible to locate comparatively recent events; for example, a man may say that such a war was fought when his father was a young man. More remote occurrences may be reckoned by generations. For example, "It is

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai



767 554 264 252 resign himself to eating alone all the days of his life.[25] His left-over food is always given to animals—it may never be eaten by another human. He may never cook for his wife or children. His food is always prepared for him.

858 766 [845] [553] [767] DEATH OF CHILDREN

An infant who dies at birth or is stillborn may be named, or not, according to the wish of the parents. It is buried in the village cemetery, by the parents themselves, without benefit of the undertaker's skill. A child is hardly important enough to merit calling in the undertaker. The difference in pattern between the death ceremonial for the adult as just described, and that for a young child is well brought out by the following notes on the death of an eight months old infant.

766 858 593 603 This infant, Kuli by name, suffered from a fever for five days then died suddenly at noon, in his mother's mother's house. Present at the death were the mother, the mother's mother, and the mother's mother's sister, the latter two being very old women, partially blind and crippled. An unrelated woman passerby heard the first death wail from the mother. She went inside the house and found the dead baby cupped on the weeping mother's lap. The woman closed the baby's eyes and left. Outside the house sat the infant's father. A three-year-old sister of the infant is sent crying from the house to join her father. The mother soon leaves the house of death to go to her own house to fetch the laying-out mats and bark cloth. The mother's brother's daughter arrives and commences to clean and sweep the death-house. The half-senile mother's mother begins to talk to arriving mourners who have difficulty in suppressing laughter at the

[178] [184] [25] Formerly, according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 196-198), a commoner was most likely to be buried by a relative. "Nowadays even commoners are buried by the *haatufunga*." Gifford also notes that after a burial, an undertaker could not feed himself for five, ten, or fifteen days, the period of *tapu* depending upon the rank of the deceased. Information in the text above that the Pangai undertaker eats by himself for two or three days, probably represents a modern variation on the more complete *tapu* of not eating with the hands. Information that the highest-class undertakers eat by themselves all the days of their lives probably represents village belief only. There is no mention of this extreme *tapu* in the pages of Gifford.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai



old woman's broad jokes. These sallies are directed at the cause of the infant's death which the old woman thought was due to over-indulgence in sugar-cane. While a pad of bark cloth is pushed under the infant's chin to hold up its head, the mourners speculate quietly on the fate that has overtaken the mother's offspring: eight born, four alive, four dead.

The two old women wipe the dead body and oil it, then wrap it in bark cloth. Finally the mother returns with mats. The body is laid out on the floor and covered with a fine mat up to the neck. The mother now starts wailing over her child, calling out for her brother (the *fa'e tangata* of the dead child) and regretting he is not present. The grandmother chants phrases expressing the wish that the child should have life again. After each call she bends over the child and kisses its face. The father comes in with fly-switches for the mourners. He sits by the head of his child crying quietly. The grandmother soon stops wailing. The mother continues for a further two hours. Suddenly, the father remembers that he is without his ceremonial skirt. He goes off to his house to find it and put it on.

In the afternoon, the pastor of the church comes to the house and holds a prayer meeting over the body. In the evening and all night long, members of the church, of the family and relatives sing hymns and pray. The father digs the grave during the night.

On the following morning at dawn, after regular church attendance, all the men and women of the village dress in their ceremonial skirts and go to the house of death. Presently the procession moves to the cemetery, the body of the dead child carried in the arms of the father's brother. There follow at the grave prayers, hymn-singing and then the quick burial.

The women of the family of the dead child return to the mother's mother's house where the women form a *kava*-circle. The men of the family meet in the mother's brother's house for *kava*. This division of the sexes is unusual for a funeral *kava*-circle. The reason given in this case was that the mother's mother's house was too small for all the mourners. Some of the women boiled food which was later

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai



765 858 514 276 766 served to all the mourners. This again is most unusual for a funeral-feast, which should be a large quantity of oven-baked food including the inevitable pig. However, the village overseer had suggested that because the deceased was an infant and because he had died two days after Christmas and thus in the middle of the holiday-making time, it would be advisable not to trouble with an oven. The parents, being poor, were only too glad to acquiesce in such advice. The mourners disbanded about midday. There was no ten-day mourning period.

766 858 This account emphasizes the somewhat casual fashion in which an immature infant may be buried as compared with the burial of an important adult. It must be remembered, however, that the family of the dead child had apparent right to be more casual than most village families would have been in similar circumstances. This was their fourth infant dead. None of the remaining children in this family looked the picture of anything except ill-health and hence the parents could probably expect further deaths among their offspring. It is most likely, however, that little of this casualness would be evident if death had happened to take the first-born and favourite son of affectionate parents. 761 152 Presumably like most people everywhere, the villagers infuse dynamic quality into the observance of custom according to the strength of attitude and feeling that they experience. [765] [594] Where death is not unexpected, or where family status is not at stake, mourning may become casual. Where it is unexpected, or where deep affection is involved, or where family status is at test, then observance of custom becomes charged with all the emotional quality of deeply-felt experience.

## MEDICINE

757 759 For most of his aches, pains, and sicknesses the villager prefers treatment from one of the recognized experts in the village. He consents to treatment from the white doctor [743] [777] only if his trouble obstinately refuses to yield to Tongan types of cure, and some friend or relative, more sceptical of Tongan medicine, can persuade him to visit the hospital in 753 775 Neiafu. In general, however, the villager probably feels

17: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923
OU9 Tonga OU9



is dangerous. The practitioner, when he has finished his treatment, carefully puts his basket or little bundle of medicine away in the shade, perhaps in the fork of a tree in the bush—it should not be left in the sun; and then he washes his hands. The owners of healing secrets generally guard their knowledge pretty jealously, and some virtue resides in themselves. It would be useless, if not dangerous, to steal anyone's medicine, but the prescription will be effective if properly bestowed by one person on another. There do not seem to be, however, any special ways of gathering the barks and leaves used, though I have been told of a medicine whose base is a bark which must be scraped from the tree when the rising sun shines upon it, and there is another in which leaves are cut down the middle, and the right halves thrown away and the left used.

In addition to the ordinary massaging there are gentle strokings, some of which appear rather mysterious in their operation. A white man, young and alert, told me that he had a painful swelling on his back, like a blind boil. An old woman came to him equipped with a concave sea-shell with a hole bored through the middle. She lightly outlined with the edge of the shell a square round the swelling, and then placed the shell, hollow side downwards, on the swelling, and gently stroked the shell. There was immediate relief and improvement; the trouble was much better next day, and quite cured in three days.

Less mysterious, and less effective than the white man's stroking the back of a shell, is the practice of holding the stomach of anyone suffering from abdominal pains. The shooting pains caused by wind give rise to much alarm. It is thought that vital parts of the body are leaping out of place, and, quite logically, the friends of the patient seek to hold the restless organ in its proper position. To the Tongan, Europeans probably seem rather heartless in leaving the sick alone as much as they do. Tongans are continually doing something for the patient, holding his head, or massaging his stomach, or what not. It would be very worrying to a sick European, though it must be admitted that much of the stroking and rubbing is extremely soothing. I have known a woman in difficult labour to have all her pains instantly relieved by the gentle pressure of an old midwife's hands.

Toothache, which must be more common now than it was once, is the subject of controversy. Some hold that it is caused by the boring of a little animal, whilst others maintain that it is just a sickness. So far as I have heard the evidence the partisans of the borer theory seem to have the stronger case, as a girl told me that she had herself seen a grub in a man's hollow tooth.

Children's illnesses are often attributed to "remembering," that is pining for an absent relative. A child is ill; remedies are tried in

17: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923
OU9 Tonga OU9



753 vain, it is remembering. The cure is what parental affection
858 naturally prompts. The absent father, or mother, or whoever it is
593 that is remembered, is communicated with, and never fails, if it is at
602 all possible, to hasten to the side of the little sufferer, and the cure
755 is wrought. Although Tongan medical practice is vitiated by the
757 inability to diagnose correctly, it would be unfair to suggest that
many valuable remedies have not been found amongst the native
[302] plants. Ageing beauty, by the way, has found the secret of restoring
[758] a glossy blackness to greying locks. Nor would it be fair to refuse
to admit the skill with which some things, once they are recognised,
are treated, and it would be ungrateful for one who has lived long
amongst this affectionate people to forget the tender care they lavish
on the sick foreigner, as well as on those of their own race.

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9



as well as the men. The structure of society provided in practice the independence of women, which is the dream of some modern feminists. It is necessary for the European to rid his mind of associations of nastiness in dealing with these matters, and to remember that the Polynesian receives the facts connected with the handing on of human life with the same simple candour as the phenomena observed in his garden or anywhere else. I have overheard a man, whose domestic life is impeccable judged by strict European standards, discussing the numerous loves of a famous chiefly lady of bygone days, and his comment was what an extraordinarily fine woman she must have been to be desirable in the eyes of so many husbands, to all of whom she bore children.

In general it was probably an honour for a girl to attract the attention of a chief of high rank, and apart from marriages marked by the elaborate exchange of gifts, there were many less formal unions, which did not lead to a girl becoming a regular inmate of a chief's compound. A girl who is taken to a chief is sometimes said to "roll his mat," indicating her duty of rolling up the sleeping-mats and making herself generally useful about the person of her lord. A village used sometimes to select a beautiful maiden to be the temporary mate of a chief, and bear them a babe of lofty lineage. The child was called by a special name indicating that he belonged to the whole village. Children are desired by both men and women. In the marriage ceremonies described in Tukuaho's diary there is a blessing of the bride, "And may you bear children, yea twins."

For a man to succumb to the attractions of a girl of inferior rank is not uncommon, but for a woman to condescend to an inferior is rare; or it may be expressed in another way, that a man would scarcely dare aspire to a lady of superior station to himself. Such aspirations would be resented by other men as offensively presumptuous. This led to the frequent marriage of the female Tui Tonga, the highest woman of all excepting her own daughter, to a foreigner. It is only in a comparatively recent period that the genealogies exhibit certain cases of the marriage of this august lady, and in these instances the bridegroom always belongs to one or two houses of Fijian extraction. The first recorded marriage of a female Tui Tonga is to a chief who actually came from Fiji; but the outside blood once introduced sufficed to give the house enough of foreignness to exempt its members from the restrictions that bound the Tongan, and to provide bridegrooms for the exalted brides. This lady must have been so restricted in the choice of a husband as to have been generally a strict monogamist. It was not uncommon for the wife of a chief to obtain other wives for him, usually it would seem, selected from amongst her own younger female relatives over whom she had power or influence. These secondary brides were

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9



the second Tu'i Kanokupolu. Ve'ehala and Ata Mataila were brothers, and Ve'ehala's *fono* is not brought from the portion allotted to Motu'apuaka or Lauaki, but from that assigned to the king himself. But the *fono* is not eaten by those to whom it is given. After it has been distributed certain people who are *fahu* to those to whom the *fono* has been given come and take it away to dispose of as they like; they may eat it themselves or give it to whomsoever they will. Usually the *fono* is not eaten till after the *kava* ceremony is finished. Those who have the right of eating the *fono* are spoken of as *kai fono*, *fono* eaters. Some of the *fahu* of a chief are spoken of as *kau mokopuna 'eiki*, noble descendants, or noble grandchildren. (*Mokopuna* is the word used in translating the English "grandchild," but of course its Tongan meaning is not so restricted.) Not all *mokopuna* are *'eiki*, noble. (Mr. Hocart's distinction between nobles and chiefs, titled heads of houses, is necessary and convenient. The Tongan word for both nobles and chiefs is *'eiki*, but there is a third sense of *'eiki*, viz., superior in social rank. For example, one may say that such a one, a member of his family, is *'eiki* to him, i.e., superior to him in rank within the family; all the members of the family may be *'eiki*, noble, and some one or other individual may be the *'eiki*, the titled head.) Whether the *mokopuna* are noble or not depends on birth, doubtless on the rank of their mothers. One informant calls the *mokopuna 'eiki* those who are *'eiki*, socially superior, in their families. Children, *fanau*, do not eat the *fono*, but only *mokopuna*. A father is sacred, *toputapu*, to his sons and daughters; they must not touch his head or eat his food; but grandchildren are not bound by *tapu* in respect of their grandparents.

But although some may simply say that the *kau mokopuna 'eiki*, chiefly grandchildren, are those who eat the *fono*, others lay stress on the sister's son as pre-eminently the one who is *fahu*. The father's sister's son is also *fahu*. A very intelligent Tongan says that one cannot lay down a hard and fast rule as to who is especially *the fahu* in every case. A concrete example is that of Takai, a descendant of the daughter of Alea-motua, the Tu'i Kanokupolu who died in 1845, who is *fahu* and *kai fono* to the present Queen.

The *fahu* rights of the sister's son are clear; but the children of both sons and daughters have free access to

39: Genetic & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

858
142
291
181

**Tongans' love for children** is as basic to them and to their philosophy of life as are their smiles. Here, Maile Tongilava holds her great-nephew, Sione Kelemeni, in Nuku'alofa.

**'Oku 'ofa mo'oni e kau Tonga 'i he tamaiki valevale,** 'o hange ko ia 'oku ha 'i he ta ko eni 'i Nuku'alofa 'o e fefine tofonga malimali ko Maile Tongilava 'oku ne fua hono ki'i mokopuna ko Sione Kelemeni.

535 is free. This limited use of the upper legs can also be seen in sitting dances. We have seen in $L_{11}$ that the correct sitting posture has the upper legs almost parallel and close together, and the right lower leg is crossed in front of the upper legs which makes the upper legs inconspicuous.

192 The lower leg is called ya'e, and includes the foot and lower leg.
521 The upper leg is called alanga, but I have never heard this word used in conversation. When speaking about dance Tongans speak only about
192 what the ya'e are doing. They translate ya'e as 'feet' but never as 'legs.'

535 In Tongan dance terminology the upper leg does not exist. Movements of both the upper legs and hips are repressed. Conversely, if
535 a dancer at a very informal occasion wants to be risque, the way to
517 do so, is to move the upper legs and the hips. On the occasion of a moonlight picnic for example, when informal dancing is called for, the most applauded dancer is one who uses her legs in any way not accepted by the Tongans as 'correct.'

535 This ideal is relaxed in the dancing of young girls. For example,
517 one Tongan choreographer set the movements of a dance for four young
858 girls and included one movement where they touched the inside of their knees with their hands. When this dance was taught to a grown woman, this movement was changed by the original choreographer, to touch the upper part of the thigh.

597 602 aligned himself with six household heads within the village, two of which held strong positions of leadership.

## Summary

858 181 Children are highly valued resources that satisfy certain social and psychological needs of Tongan adults. Those needs are, in turn, related to Tongan concepts of adulthood, parenthood, and family. Adoption is one process through which children, as resources, can be controlled and redistributed. The adoption process, then, reveals a great deal about parent-child relationships generally and about the importance of children to Tongan adults.

858 181 597 [593]

597 602 Adoption is primarily a transaction confined to principals who are kinsmen. This strongly reflects the Tongan attitude that kinsmen constitute a close, more trustworthy group than do non-kinsmen.

Adoption results in a shift in the adoptee's kinship network without breaking ties established through biological parents. Consequently, the adoptee finds himself with increased options for affiliation and inheritance.

592 of a nuclear family and this is the preferred form of household composi-
[594] tion. Also pointed out earlier was the fact that the Tongan household is the basic unit of production and consumption. It is the physical and
[861] social environment within which Tongans learn behavior and establish
592 patterns of behavior. The pattern of exchange indicates that the rela-
593 tionships established within the household and the family of orientation
431 are maintained after the members of the household have dispersed and es-
437 tablished new households.

594 The emphasis on the nuclear family reflected by the patterns of
178 exchange may be a relatively recent alteration in Tongan life style, an
431 alteration that has resulted in a "lag" between the conscious model and
437 the new situation. For instance, the population of Puke as presently
602 constituted has resulted from recent migrations that tend to break up
[166] kin groupings larger than nuclear families. For the individual resident of Puke this results in a limited range of kinsmen available with whom to carry on reciprocity. This means, of course, that the physical distribution of kinsmen may preclude operation of the conscious model for certain individuals.

597 Comparing the adoption sample to the sample of goods, exchange also
858 produces information on the overriding solidarity of the nuclear family.
431 Children, of course, cannot be compared to goods in terms of value, but
437 they are resources that can be weighed according to their relative social
[594] importance. Children are by far much more important than goods, and this is reflected in different patterns of exchange.[1]

592 In the village of Vaini where the adoption sample was obtained
602
125

[For footnote, see p. 123--Analyst]

597 602 125 there were a total of eighty-four adoptions, three of which were cases where non-kin had been principals in the adoption transactions. So 592 602 4 percent of adoption transactions involve non-kinsmen while the comparable percentage for the transfer of goods is 49 percent. As stated 431 437 above 50 percent of the exchanges in the sample involving material items 597 593 were between principals who were parent-child or sibling-sibling. The comparable percentage figure for the adoption sample is 89 percent. I 431 437 interpret this to mean that because children are more important resources [858] than are goods, they circulate within a much smaller, more closely related group.

602 The other characteristic of the behavior pattern is that transac- 431 tion in terms of kin categories seems to be balanced rather than either 437 the higher ranking or lower ranking categories being favored. The only explanation for this is that "balance" is an overriding concern in individual strategies, not only as mentioned for relationships between non-kinsmen but also between kinsmen. This situation of "balance" is not [597] present in the adoption sample, but certain demographic factors characteristic of Tongan adoption results in a one-way flow of adoptees that still does not conform to the conscious model.

597 Tongans adopt children as young as possible and young adults will be the persons possessing young children. So in cross generation transfers of children, the principal in the youngest of the two generations will be the donating parent rather than the adopting parent. For instance, in the Fa'e-Tama dyad, fa'e would probably be at the end of her childbearing years or beyond her childbearing years. Tama would be a

NOTES (Continued)

Chapter V

871
511
434 [1]Most schools in Tonga are parochial schools; however, school fees are paid for each child in all schools. Parents must also pay for school uniforms and some school supplies. The total amount varies considerably depending on the school, but between $T15.00 and $T25.00 a year per child is usually required.

Chapter VI

597
858
121 [1]While children are important resources and there is an economic dimension present in adoption transactions, that was not the focus of my analysis of adoption. Rather, I attempted to focus on the social and psychological aspects of adoption which are the dimensions emphasized by Tongans.

There were three divisions in the Tongan Pantheon — the Tangaloa, gods in the sky, the Maui in the underworld (who caused earthquakes and gave other evidence of their power), and Hikule'o, who presided over Pulotu, the paradise in the west. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as the high priest of Hikule'o and his wife, the Moheofo, was priestess or servant *(kaumanga)* of Hikule'o. The priests of the various deities professed to receive and utter oracles from the gods in trance-like experiences. Only the priests entered the gods' houses; the suppliants sat humbly outside. The priests were not always respected, especially when their statements did not suit influential interrogators. Tongans believed also in gods of natural forces (the winds, the sea, the harvest), gods of sacred places, and even creatures which frequented these places and were thought to embody the spirit of the ancestral chief of a neighbouring tribe.[10]

The offering of human sacrifice by strangulation, when a chief or a member of his family was threatened with death, was never practised as frequently as in Fiji and became less common as time went on; instances, however, were recorded by Mariner during his sojourn in Tonga (1806-10) and by missionaries later. The victim was generally a youth, the child of one of the chief's secondary wives. Instead of a life it became customary to amputate fingers and offer these as substitute sacrifices. Cook wrote,

> "There was scarcely one in ten I did not find mutilated in one or more hands." (11)

George Tupou I (c. 1797-1893) had lost two little fingers in his youth. When a chief died, women cut their hair and beat their cheeks until they were covered with blood, and men wounded themselves with clubs and spears, to show their sorrow and their devotion to the deceased. The more savage practices found in Fiji, such as cannibalism, infanticide, and the premature burying of the very old, were practically unknown in Tonga. There was indeed a great respect for the aged and a strong affection for children. Cannibalism, in imitation of Fijian customs, was practised in the Civil Wars which began in 1799, but it was regarded with utter abhorrence in normal times.

* * * *

Tonga's usually orderly and pleasant existence continued through the centuries until the early 17th Century when the first contact was made with Europeans who, in the people's phrase, burst through the skies with their tall ships; hence the word for Europeans, *Papālangi*, or sky-bursters. This happened first in the distant northern islands of Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou. Jan Schouten and Jacob Lemaire came in two ships around Cape Horn searching for what was expected to be a great southern continent in the vast expanse of the South Pacific Ocean. On 9 May 1616 the Dutchmen saw a canoe with about twenty-five people; these were Tongans whose first knowledge of the outside world was the firing of warning shots. The Dutchmen followed the canoe to Tafahi and the adjacent island, Niua Toputapu. The visitors did not land on either. Surprised at the appearance of human beings so different from themselves and ships so unlike their canoes, the people attempted to steal one of the ships' boats during the trading for vegetables and other supplies. When the vessels were going across from Tafahi to Niua Toputapu, a large fleet of canoes attacked the ships with stones. No fatalities occurred then, but, during the subsequent visit of the Dutchmen to Niua Fo'ou, the island to the west, two Tongans were killed when trying to capture one of the ships' boats. It was an unhappy introduction to the Tongans' contact with Europeans.